1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

their father had turned over to him, one after the other, because of his high regard for ču'nekį. Besides this typical example of sororal polygyny, I know of three other unions in which an Indian married two sisters simultaneously.

The levirate is said to have been formerly frequent and considered meritorious, but not obligatory. I myself have never encountered it, but I do know of two widowers each of whom married the widow of his brother; each widow already had children. More numerous are instances of bigamy in which the two women are not sisters and belong to different clans; I knew of eight such unions.

Sometimes the particular circumstances that prompt bigamy are interesting. Antonio juruti', though married for many years, never had any children, so he took another wife, a niece of the first—but with the same result. When João Arapaço va'ičakį's first wife had a child, at his wife's request he summoned her niece to his house to help her, since the niece was getting on badly with her stepfather, who could not abide her. Some time later, va'ičakį took this nurse of his child as his second wife, with her aunt's full consent. The wife of a certain Jeronymo of the Rio Jacurapá happened to fall ill just when his large crop of manioc should have been made into flour, for which reason he asked for, and received in marriage, his second wife.

There are, however, women who will not consent to their husband's taking a second helpmate. The best sculptress of tucumã figurines, e'kįrane, was married to Anastacio daune'kį, who never begot a child with her. He then proposed to her that he marry a second woman, but she resolutely opposed this, preferring a separation. Anastacio did marry the other woman, who lived only in a state of illness, being passed from one shaman to another, for she also was barren.

In general, two wives live in harmony and help each other unless the difference in their ages is too great. If it is, the situation becomes a bit whimsical. Rufino bo/kį'rakį, some forty years old and married to a woman of the same age, was the father of various children. His eldest daughter was already married and expecting her first child when, at his second daughter's puberty ceremony, he married a girl eighteen years old. The natural consequence of the striking difference in the ages of the two wives was that the second, instead of considering herself the companion of the first, associated with the young girl, her stepdaughter.

Jealousy.—According to Tessmann, in case of adultery the husband fights his rival. But I know of no fights between persons of the same sex because of jealousy. On the other hand, among spouses jealousy causes violent scenes (see p. 51), which may lead to separation.

A husband who realizes that his wife has just reasons for jealousy forces himself to bear calmly vituperation and even a shower of blows, "if he is a serious man," according to the expression of one of my informants, who very calmly confessed that in fifteen years of married life he had been thrashed some twenty times by his jealous wife. The wife receives the same treatment, but such scenes, unless unduly repeated, cause little scandal.

Divorce.—I never heard of a husband's having murdered his wife, but what may happen, if there is dissension, is that either will obtain a divorce. The wife's relatives will not permit gross maltreatment of her by the husband; hence, if he maltreats her and conciliatory intervention proves fruitless, they force her to re-

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

turn to the paternal house. The clearing that her husband made, and which she planted and took care of, is hers, since "a man has arms to make another." In general, a divorced woman's children remain with her, but the former husband may demand them for himself; if so, he cannot be denied them. Also, if the wife's family is in economic difficulties, she may oblige the divorced husband to care for and support the children. Often, women divorced in this way do not marry again but carry on relations with whom they please, that is, away from the parental roof.

Several times I heard older Indians complain of the increasing fickleness with which certain youths contract, and shortly thereafter dissolve, marriages. I observed two marriages in which the young husband abandoned his wife after a week, leaving her for no apparent reason, never to return. It appears to me that fickleness in marriage is not only increasing among the youths but is also prevalent, on a smaller scale, among the girls. It is related to the increasing proletarianization of a certain section of the tribe through the influence of industrial establishments in the region. Many of these establishments provide food and prostitutes for the young men whom they employ, making marriage unnecessary for them.

Adultery.—In adultery, the woman is the only one considered responsible. Perhaps the informant cited above on defloration would say of this also: "If she will not—who may take her?" A single commission of adultery on the part of either spouse, even though established beyond a doubt, is not held to be sufficient cause for divorce, the problem being solved merely by a blow; only if the act is repeated, does this solution fail. Adultery appears extremely rare in economically well-balanced families. Throughout my entire stay among the Tukuna not one divorce took place in families with a stable economy, nor was there in such families any scandal involving adultery.

Tendency to matrilocal residence.—If the Tukuna are right in saying that in the old days malocas were inhabited by families of only one clan, residence must then have been patrilocal. Today there is no fixed rule, but there is a well-established tendency for parents not to let a daughter out of sight and free from their control even after marriage. Compare with this the uncle's counsel to the vɔrɛ̈k: "Never abandon your mother, and look out for her even after marriage" (p. 90); and the prospective mother-in-law's threat to the suitor that she will reclaim her daughter if the latter is not well treated (p. 94).

One family of Igarapé da Rita was visibly disgusted by the marriage of a daughter to an Indian who later went to live with her in the neighborhood of Belém, about twenty-five kilometers away as the crow flies. It appeared that the parents were waiting only for some pretext to dissolve the union, since they were already openly discussing this eventuality. Usually the husband first lives for some time in the house of his in-laws. Some never leave, but most later set up their own establishments not far away. The preferred type of marriage, described earlier in this section, favors this tendency to a certain extent.

Daily life.—I should emphasize the fact that family life among the Tukuna runs with extreme calm and monotony. I have associated for months with certain families without noting the slightest altercation. The transports of rage to which

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

is unnecessary; a boy and girl may meet at a feast and leave married at the end. The wife's parents never renounce their authority over her and do not permit the husband to take her far away, which results in a certain matrilocal tendency.

Polygyny even today is considered licit, but cases of bigamy are rare. In the only case known, a famous man who was both priest and chief had three sisters as wives simultaneously. Other cases of sororate have occurred. The levirate, also formerly frequent, was considered desirable.

Jealousy may cause violent quarrels between husband and wife, but never murder and rarely divorce. Adultery, though causing scenes, is insufficient reason for divorce. Guilt is always placed on the woman. The father's authority in the family is great.

In case of robbery, the offended party requires restitution and sometimes is extremely severe with the thief.

Injuries and death occur almost exclusively when people are drunk during a feast, for alcohol stimulates certain *Tucuna* to fight. Drunkenness absolves the murderer from responsibility, but the victim's relatives always feel resentful and hostile toward him.

A house is the property of its builder, i.e., the head of the family. The clearing belongs to the woman by whom it was made.

The *Tucuna* no longer have chiefs as they are too individualistic to accept authority and as the civilized people have discredited the office by designating chiefs through whom they could exploit and oppress the Indians. Formerly, chiefs of local groups were heads of large families whose magic powers, intelligence, and ability in dealing with foreigners gave them prestige. There was never, however, a chief for the entire nation.

Death.—Until the end of the past century, the deceased and all his ornaments were placed in a large chicha jar which was covered with a vessel, buried in a cemetery, and the site sometimes marked with a rod of muirapiranga. Well-liked people sometimes were buried in the house. They put a little food, beverage, and a fire on the grave, periodically renewing it. Tessmann (1930, p. 564) incorrectly attributed secondary burial to the *Tucuna*.

WARFARE

The *Tucuna* are not warlike. They defended themselves against the *Omagua*, their principal enemies, and drove them to the banks of the Solimões River only when the latter had invaded their lands. They fought with arrows, poisoned spears, and round tapir-hide shields, and protected their paths with poisoned caltrops. They did not take prisoners or keep trophies from slain enemy. They never fought civilized people, except to avenge personal insults.